

Contents

Foreword	IX
1. Introduction	1
2. European Union as an External Democracy Promoter: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations.....	11
2.1 Conceptualizing the EU as a Normative Actor.....	11
2.1.1 EU-Level Normative Commitments	11
2.1.2 The EU Conception of External Democracy Promotion	13
2.2 In Search for an Appropriate Theoretical Framework: Explaining External Factors of Democratization.....	19
2.3 Towards a Comprehensive Typology of EU Democracy Promotion Tools.....	25
2.3.1 Categorizing Democratization Tools: An Overview of Existing Typologies	25
2.3.2 Building-up a Distinct Typology	28
3. Evaluation of EU Democracy Promotion: A Framework for Analysis	31
3.1 Evaluating Successes and Failures of External Democracy Promotion.....	32
3.1.1 Existing Approaches.....	32
3.1.2 Methodological Challenges in the Context of the Current Study	36
3.1.3 Opting for a Distinct Research Strategy	38
3.2 Explaining Successes and Failures of External Democracy Promotion.....	42
3.2.1 What Factors Matter?.....	42
3.2.2 The EU Engagement in Central Asia: Main Assumptions	45
3.3 Further Methodological Considerations	58
4. The EU Sanctions Against Uzbekistan.....	63
4.1 Tracing Implementation of the Sanctions	63
4.1.1 The EU Sanctions and Conditions for Their Withdrawal	65
4.1.2 The EU Sanctions at Work	66
4.1.3 Summary of the Results	74

4.2 Explaining the Outcomes of EU Sanctions	75
4.2.1 Lack of Credibility as an Explanation for Failure	76
4.2.2 Substance of the EU Demands and Their Implications as Explanatory Factors	80
4.2.3 Possible Interfering Effects.....	87
4.3 Concluding Remarks	88
5. Structured Human Rights Dialogues.....	91
5.1 Tracing Implementation of the Dialogues	92
5.1.1 The Issues in Focus of the HRDs	93
5.1.2 Evaluating the Results: What Has (Not) Been Achieved	96
5.2 Explaining the Outcomes: Multiple Causes of Failure	101
5.2.1 Process-related Factors	102
5.2.2 Substance of the Promoted Norms	105
5.3 Concluding Remarks	108
6. The Institution Building and Partnership Programme and the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights	111
6.1 Tracing Implementation of the Programmes.....	111
6.1.1 The IBPP at Work.....	112
6.1.2 The EIDHR at Work.....	117
6.1.3 Summary of the Results	122
6.2 Explaining the Outcomes of the IBPP and EIDHR Application	123
6.2.1 Assistance Transparency and Ownership.....	124
6.2.2 Substance of the Promoted Norms	125
6.3 Concluding Remarks	130
7. Conclusion.....	133
References	141
Annex I: List of Expert Interviews	169
Annex II: IBPP Projects implemented in Kyrgyzstan in 2002–2009	172
Annex III: IBPP Projects implemented in Uzbekistan in 2003–2010	175
Annex IV: EIDHR Regional Projects implemented in Central Asia in 2003-2010.....	179
Annex V: EIDHR Macro- and Micro-Projects (CBSS) implemented in Kyrgyzstan in 2004-2010	181